3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDI Ukraine RDI

Introduction

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This is a collaborative work whose aim is to impart to the English reader general information concerning the Ukrainian people, their territory and their achievements in public life. It might be termed a Ukrainian encyclopaedia in miniature. With the exception of Professor Manning of Columbia University who has provided the contribution on "The Ukrainians and the Anglo-Saxon World," and to whom I owe special thanks for this essay, all the authors are Ukrainian specialists, who have devoted their best efforts to the furtherance of the project. The geographical depiction of the country was written by Professor W. Kubiyovych, formerly of the University of Cracow, and now engaged at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. He is the author of a large textbook on the geography of Ukraine and of a Ukrainian atlas. The contributions on the "Ukrainian People", "Ukrainian Emigration", "Minorities in Ukraine", and the "Ukrainian Press", are the product of Prof. Z. Kuziela, president of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. The essays on the name "Ukraine" and the "Ukrainian Language" were presented by Professor Rudnytskyj, formerly of the Ukrainian University, Munich, but now at the university of Manitoba, Canada. The brief summary of the thousand years' history of the Ukrainian people owes its production to the pen of the young scholar Dr. Michael Antonovych, a lecturer from the University of Vienna in the field of Eastern European History. The articles concerning the social structure of the Ukrainian community and the different areas of Ukraine, their nationality and political position were written by an outstanding specialist in this field, Mr. Viktor Sadovskyj from Prague. The noted economist Diploma Engineer D. Dyminskyj, Professor at the Ukrainian Free University and at the Ukrainian Technical Institute in Regensburg assumed the for-

114 midable task of presenting the entire economic life in Ukraine in a brief and concise manner, both from the aspect of its development and in its present state. The third section of the book which describes the cultural life of Ukraine, the Church, and the psychological characteristics of the people are products of the writer's pen.

121 The work as a whole has been composed from a historical point of view and includes the period up to the year 1939. It is to be particularly emphasised that it has been necessary to present this complete historical development of Ukrainian public life in order to be able to explain adequately the present situation. This is the first extensive treatise on Ukraine in English and for this reason it appeared advisable to take into account the historical preliminaries of the present. However, it has also seemed wisest not to proceed in the treatment beyond the year 1939, since reliable statistical data are lacking for an authoritative presentation of recent years. During the second World War the Ukrainian territory was so thoroughly devastated by military operations, and so great changes of a political character have taken place, that a correct treatment of the present situation is essentially impossible. To make the matter still more difficult is the fact that the Soviet government, in whose sphere of authority lies the entire native soil of Ukraine, gives out almost no statistics and when any do appear their validity is of a very doubtful character.

104 The book has set as its goal the illumination of all aspects of the Ukrainian problem. With the one exeption noted above it has been composed by Ukrainian scholars, and now appears for the public as authentically representative of Ukrainian public opinion. For that reason, it is appropriate that it should render the Ukrainian names, not in the general and customary Russian or Polish transliteration, but in the little known Ukrainian one. We use, therefore, "Chernvhiv" instead of the customary "Chernigov", "Kyiv" instead of the generally known "Kiev", "Lviv" instead of "Lemberg" or "Lwow", etc. However, in order to make the reader familiar with the Ukrainian form of the names, we include with this introduction a list of Ukrainian geographical and proper names in which the Ukrainian and usual

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

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NOTE ON SOURCES

Sources for the study of Ukrainian nationalism during the Second World War are extremely varied. Published personal narratives are important. Ukrainian memoirs, like most others, however, have serious defects as sources for the history of political events. On the nationalist side, memoirs are usually highly colored by the views or prejudices of the authors, since the tempestuous Ukrainian nationalist politics have rarely been conducive to impartial reflection. Moreover, the flight of the nationalists from Eastern Europe as the Soviet armies advanced resulted in the loss of many of the documents which might have enhanced the reliability of their memoirs. In many cases the personal circumstances of the writers have made it impossible for them to check their narratives against documents available since the war. Soviet memoirs of wartime events, on the other hand, suffer from the distortions resulting from adherence to the official line.

Fortunately, it is in many cases possible to check postwar narratives against contemporary records. In this respect documents from German archives made available to the public in connection with the Nuremberg trials are extremely valuable. Some of these documents, composed by Ukrainian nationalist leaders themselves, provide direct evidence of nationalist activity. Most of the documents concerning aspects of Ukrainian nationalism are reports by German political, military or police officials; they are of course subject to error due to misinformation or negligence of the authors. Occasionally the desire of an official of the Nazi dictatorship to put himself in a better light before his superiors, or to advance a policy he preferred, led to intentional distortion. Since the reports were for official use only, and as a rule were written by officials who were personally not deeply involved in Ukrainian affairs, the element of intentional coloring is comparatively minor, however.

A second very important body of contemporary sources consists of published material. Some publications were issued clandestinely; while the authors may have had numerous reasons for distortion, they were at least not subject to German censorship. By far the larger amount of available contemporary published material, however, was published under German censorship. Consequently, numerous facts had to be omitted and many views colored to make them acceptable to the Germans. German censorship was not iron-clad, however; the numerous ways in which publications in territories occupied by the Germans

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114 could express real views and present facts have been touched upon throughout this study. Because of censorship contemporary published 127 sources present comparatively little material of direct political relevance. They do, however, present valuable information on the closely related topics of religious, cultural, and economic activity. Moreover, they describe the overt activities of individuals in specific places at specific times; it is often possible to check such facts in postwar descriptions of covert political activities against the framework obtained from contemporary sources. The extent to which facts cited by the postwar informant conform to the contemporary sources permits one to make a partial evaluation of the reliability of the informant. Contemporary Soviet sources on nationalist activities are much sparser, but for some events they provide valuable information which shifts in Soviet policy have caused to be deleted from postwar publications.

124 Important as are the contemporary sources, a rounded picture of the wartime nationalist movements could not have been obtained without the aid of unpublished accounts of the participants. Some of these are in the form of manuscripts made available to the author of this study, but most were obtained through oral interviews. For reasons which should be clear to the reader of this study, it has been necessary to preserve the anonymity of the informants. The code system adopted makes it possible for the author to determine the source of each statement, however, and in many cases it will be possible for him to suggest persons whom an inquirer might approach for further information on a given topic.

The interviews were conducted during 1952–53 in Europe, Canada, and the United States. Before beginning the interviews, the author made a thorough examination of the greater part of the German documents and the published materials, contemporary and memoir. He was also fortunate enough to secure advice and information from a number of scholars who had worked on related studies of the Ukraine and of wartime Eastern Europe. These preliminary investigations enabled him to form an over-all picture of the topic. For many sections of the study, he could establish a reliable account lacking only a limited number of details. This approach was essential for the success of the interviews. Prospective informants were more inclined to furnish information when they learned that the author had acquired the background knowledge of subjects which were of intense personal interest to them. The preliminary investigation also enabled the author to determine some of the key questions, or at least to know which areas of his topic needed probing. An equally useful result of this investigation was that the knowledge acquired enabled the author to assess the validity of many statements while the informant was still available, so that dubious statements could be questioned or further information elicited.

8: Fedenko H-4, 5 (no date) 1951 RD1 Ukraine RD1

About the author

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Panas Fedenko is a historian, politician, journalist and novelist. He is author of works on Ukrainian history. In 1917 he was elected to the Ukrainian Central Council, the first Ukrainian Parliament in Kiev, and in 1919 to the Ukrainian Congress as member of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party. As member of the Central Ukrainian Partisan Committee he was concerned with the guerilla war against Russia in 1919—20. He edited Ukrainian Socialist newspapers at home and in exile, where he had to go in 1921. In exile Panas Fedenko taught at the Ukrainian Pedagogic University and the Ukrainian Free University in Prague. Now he is member of the Ukrainian National Council in exile.

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INTRODUCTION

The author of this book is a historian. He has taken part in the Ukrainian national revolution from 1917 on. The book has been written to fix facts that are very often forgotten in the world, or are given a false interpretation in the various books on the Eastern European problem.

The principal fact from which the whole fatal conflict between Ukraine and Soviet Russia arises is that Ukraine has a democratic tradition created by the preceding historical evolution. Modern Russia is a continuation of the Muscovite Tsardom that has grown on the foundations of eastern despotism. For this reason Russia has not created a democratic tradition of its own up to this day and has a "considerable lack of European tradition", as it has been stated by the well known Russian historian Klyuchevsky. Therefore Communist dictatorship so easily seized power in Russia after the revolution of 1917, while the other peoples of the former Tsarist Empire, Ukrainians, Finns, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Georgians, etc., created democratic states of their own.

The tragedy of the unhappy neighbours of Russia is that Russian imperialism in the past and present times has been principally directed against them, has enslaved and even exstirpated them.

The Ukrainian nation occupies a particular place in Eastern Europe both by its number, circa 35 millions, and by its geographical position, and especially by its large natural resources*). The famous British political writer Professor R. W. Seton-Watson states that the Ukrainian problem has been one of the reasons for World War I 1914—1918. It is generally known that the conquest of Ukraine was the principal aim for Hitler's 'Pressure to the East'. Thus World War II had the struggle for Ukraine as one of its reasons too.

We are living in a time when imperialism is being condemned as one of the greatest evils to mankind, but we see at the same time

*) The most important natural riches of Ukraine are: coal (Donets Bassin), iron ore (Krivoy Rog), oil (Boryslaw), manganese (Nikopol). The export of grain from Ukraine to Western Europe until 1914 was higher than 5,5 mil. tons per year. The production of sugar and spirit was very important. The export of agricultural products from Tsarist Russia came in its great part from Ukraine.

000 Editor's Note: Since this book is translated from German, the titles of books are translated from German also - instead of from original Ukranian or Russian. Therefore, the original titles are not given, only the translation.

/5/ **Foreword**

•[14] The present work was written in the years 1938/39, - in the period when the West Ukrainians in the, however brief, existence of what was then Poland, were very much excited by an autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine, the present-day Hungarian Carpathia. It was not only the West Ukrainians who in those days believed the hour of Greak Ukraine had come.

/2/ The book represents an attempt, based on a journalist's personal knowledge and a thorough study of the country, to acquaint the German reader with the Ukrainian people, their country, their history, their culture, their way of life and their character.

In spite of the fact that since the book was completed in August 1939, fundamental changes have occurred in the eastern part of Europe as a result of the defeat of Poland and the struggle against Bolshevik Muscovite rule, the book can be published almost unchanged. For there was no 000 change in the terrible fate of the East Ukrainians in the old Soviet Ukraine up to the day of their liberation by German troops. The West Ukrainians in eastern Poland, in Bukovina and Bessarabia - regions which Moscow appropriated more or less forcibly after the collapse of Poland - had to learn during the brief period of